

Trade and Navigation
31.

C O N S I D E R A T I O N S

O N

The Present State of Affairs

B E T W E E N

K ENGLAND and AMERICA.

" Unconnected with any party : too proud to be dependent
" on any : of too little consequence to be sought by
" any : I speak but as I feel."

Preface to Remarks on Acts relative to the Colonies.

L O N D O N:

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To L O R D N O R T H:

My LORD,

HAVING, on a former occasion, expressed an approbation and confidence in your lordship, as a minister, which your lordship very soon after convinced me was *TOTALLY unmerited*; I take this occasion to *retract* that praise which I am sorry, for the interest of this country, was so ill founded! in such a situation, your lordship cannot wonder that I do *not* subscribe myself

Your lordship's

most obedient humble servant,

January, 1778. The A U T H O R.

ЛЮДОВІТЪ

Ізъ земель твоїхъ СУАХъ
Більшість твою виманула
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Земляхъ відбывається
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C O N S I D E R A T I O N S

O N T H E

Present State of Affairs between Eng- land and America.

TH E various causes assigned for the present war in America, are,

1. The General Disposition of the Americans to become independent of this Country.
2. The Influence of a few *factional Men*, in deluding the Americans by false representations of the views of Britain; these factional men ascribing the equitable claim "That America should bear a " proportion of the general burthen," to views of *enslaving America and relieving*

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the natives of this country, by laying a grievous load of taxes on the Americans.

3. A system of administration totally contradictory in principles and practice to that pursued antecedent to this reign, which some men ascribe to a plan of changing the constitution of this country.
4. That we have passed the *Rubicon*, and it is alledged we cannot recede.

The view of the following pages is to shew that, *The sword ought to be sheathed*, and the olive branch presented to America.

I have been assured, by what I think the most respectable authority, that Lord Howe, before he left England, urged, very strongly, that he might be allowed to treat with the Americans in arms, very justly observing, that it was weak to suppose, men, with arms in their hands, would lay them down, without knowing what they were to expect, since

since unconditional submission was the worst a vanquished enemy could be reduced to, and so humiliating, that none but the basest minds could, almost by any distress, be brought to think of it ! However, the madness of the times refused his rational request.

The complaints of a parent, that a child is *undutiful*, and of the child, that the parent is *tyranical* and *unjust*, can never be redressed by a continual recrimination or argumentative disputation : That weak pride, almost natural to the human frame, will make each strive to maintain the opinion they had adopted, and if the opposite arguments appear to bear hard, on either side, it will not carry conviction, but be construed to be sophistry ; let both tacitly acknowledge themselves mutually a little in the wrong, and draw a veil over what is past ; union will instantly be restored : The present contest will never be decided by *law-quarks*.

It is not to the present purpose to enquire whether the propositions which have been

made to the Americans, were such as they ought to have accepted or not ; it is sufficient to know, that they have not been such as they would accept, and whether this refusal proceeded from *misapprehension* of the intentions of the ministry, or from *well-grounded distrust*, is a matter in which the ministers may, perhaps, be concerned, but in which the people of England ought not, in any degree, to be involved.

For my own part, I will freely declare, that it is my opinion, abstractedly, a matter of total indifference whether the *English* under General Howe, or the *English* under General Washington prevail. UNION is the INTEREST of ENGLAND, and whatever event produces that UNION with *least loss* of English blood, is the most successful.

That the English Americans think they are fighting in a good cause, is obvious, because they could not be constrained to act against the general opinion : I am far from

condemning their antagonists, I suppose they act equally from conviction, but I lament the effusion of *English blood*, on both sides, in this unhappy contest.

Oh ! how France triumphs !

One thing however we have learnt, The immense force of the UNITED EMPIRE :

Let us all
Be link'd in sacred union, and this land
May face the world's whole multitude in arms !

LEONIDAS.

1. If it was the *general* disposition of the Americans to become independent of England ? what can conquest effect, unless to conquest is added *extirpation*, and where is the mind so sanguinary as to avow such horrid intentions ! Admit that our arms are successful, and that the American armies are entirely discomfited ; will not the Americans again take arms when the British troops are recalled ? Or is it in view to keep up such a standing

standing army in America? Where is this army to be recruited from? Would the whole income of America, in its present state, defray the expence of such a project? Must not an army kept in America, for the avowed purpose of overawing the Americans, in the natural course of human events, totally alienate the minds of the Americans, and banish every feeling of affection, or attachment towards this country.

If the general disposition of America is to obtain independence, can any temperate man think, that this *disposition* is to be changed by force of arms?

But why should America in general have *wished* to be independent of this country.

Could any considerate American believe, that independent America could maintain itself against other nations at so small an expence as the proportion of taxes paid by them whilst connected with this country? It could

could not then be on the idea of easing themselves from *present taxes*, that they could have been inclined to throw off their dependence !

It may perhaps be said, the restraints under which the *act of navigation* lays their trade, was a grievous burthen, which only necessity could induce them to bear.

Admit, for a moment, that the *act of navigation* was a restraint on America, for which they had no equivalent, nor even any consideration.

Was it with the merchants of America this country had to fear a contest ? There are smugglers in England, if not in Scotland ; nay, gangs of smugglers pass through the capital ! But does it follow that those smugglers ever had a conception of subverting the government of this country ?

It is very probable the enterprizing spirit of commerce, which was rising in America,
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and which spread their vessels over the ocean in quest of whales, might, in time, have led them to mercantile voyages in remote parts, but such interlopers would have been amenable to the laws, and although the owners of the forfeited vessels might have been clamorous, their complaints would never have brought the continent of America out in arms.

Perhaps the strongest objection that America had to the state of dependance on this country in which it stood, arose from the corruption of our government at home, which has notoriously promoted non-residents, children, and unworthy persons, to fill offices of trust and profit in America, and if OPPOSITION have any thing in view, but the *loaves and fishes*, they will surely call for a circumstantial account of all American officers appointed in this reign, distinguishing the duties of their offices, and the time of their appointment, non-residents, children, and pack-horses, or those nominal

nominal officers, who are saddled with men whose names do not appear.

If this abuse is the cause of American resistance, every lover of his country must rejoice that they succeed in correcting it; and it must, unquestionably, be corrected before this country and America can be again linked together.

2. That the war in America is only occasioned by the influence of a few factious men, who have deluded the people. This cause is so diametrically opposite to that first assigned for the war, that like *acid* and *alkali* they destroy each other! But if the war in America really is occasioned by the influence of a faction in deluding the people, surely it cannot be denied, that an immediate cessation of hostilities would give the people time to cool and open their eyes to the delusion of their factious leaders. This head will, hereafter,

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meet us, when we consider the subject of taxation. I shall therefore proceed to the

3. A system of administration totally contradictory in principle and practice, to that pursued antecedent to the present reign.

Whether this system arises from sinister views on the constitution,* as some suppose, or arises from weakness, as others alledge, and whether from *ministers*, or from a different source, is not at present the question: certain it is, the system adopted, with respect to America, has been totally different from that which the wisdom of our ancestors had established. In former times, when parlia-

* The late Sir G. E. whose abilities were universally acknowledged, and who was one of those stiled *king's friends*; upon occasion of his loosing in the House of Commons the bill for raising soldiers by beat of drum, for the E. Ind. Company to be kept in *their pay* and disciplined in *England*; said, " He was surprized how the company came to agree to it; but that *he* was for getting *every thing* he could for the *crown*."

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ment laid a tax or restraint on America, the same act laid some restraint on the mother country, in behalf of America: Whilst such a conduct was pursued, it could scarce ever have arisen as a question, whether parliament had or had not, inherently, a right to exercise this authority, obviously exerted only for the interest of the whole, and exerted impartially on both, for the interest of that whole. Unhappily in this reign, a new system was adopted; the acts laying taxes or restraints on the colonies, appeared coercive acts on them only, and gave just ground for alarm, admitting even that they proceeded from indiscretion, and not from any latent principle dissonant to the mild and equal government of former times.

But not America alone has felt this new system! administration, instead of confining itself to the helm, and conducting the great machine of government, leaving to every subordinate officer the duties of his particular station, have, absurdly, assumed the ex-

ection of every part of the publick service, by its immediate influence; and in a manner too, the most alarming; viz. by acting through the popular part of the government; for this, parliament, being found complaisant, is made paramount, or rather the cat's-paw for the monkey to rake the nuts out of the fire, for patronage, and not power, seems the object of administration.

There are many things parliament cannot do without exceeding their authority! Parliament *cannot* break a contract in which the publick is, through parliament, *one of the contracting parties, without the consent of the other party.* They *cannot* without a breach of common sense and common justice.

This *injustice* parliament has done to me and to the rest of the 500l. proprietors of India-stock, whom parliament deprived of their right of voting in the management of the company's affairs, although we were as much entitled to that right, as any freeholder

holder to his inheritance : this injury is beyond redress, but it is not less *unjust* because I am *weak*.

During a whig government, the East-India company was left to the administration of its own affairs ; and flourished to the astonishment of the world ! a minister never interfered, but to protect or assist them ; and with pleasure saw a source of employment for the younger sons of the middle ranks of the community, uninfluenced by the crown ; and consequently saw a rising column of independence in the kingdom, essentially necessary to preserve publick liberty in the present extensive influence of royal or ministerial patronage. But this was not to be allowed ! the first lord of the admiralty and the minister's secretary, whose own departments are amply adequate to employ the attention of any two individuals, must direct every motion of the company ; and to secure this destructive influence, placemen must be required to hold qualifications of India-stock,

and

and to give votes in questions involving every absurdity and contradiction ; perhaps, that hereafter the system may be rendered more compleat, by some new change in parliament; where the conduct of those very tools may be impudently alledged in proof of the company's incompetency to manage its own affairs ! and parliament itself, perhaps, may share the same fate, when its complaisance shall at last deprive it of the people's confidence.

The worst of all governments is the ostensible remains of form when the essence is gone! parliament having been found a convenient engine, even the *executive* part of government has been delegated to it ; parliament has appointed a governor and council for the company's affairs in Bengal ; the precedent may extend to create a governor and court of directors to the *bank of England*! that governor and his court may prepare the scenes, and parliament, on the precedent of the 500l. India proprietors, may

may strike off all the votes of the proprietors whom the minister cannot induce to request of parliament, the allotment of some fund notoriously deficient as an equivalent for the interest due from the publick, but which the disastrous situation of this country may make it unable to pay. The funds must soon be taxed in some form or other, for if the load is to be laid on the land, the people may feel the burthen too heavy! the voice of an oppressed people may be clamorous! the tide may bring up a new parliament, not complaisant, but which will still claim to be lord paramount: and if there is virtue in this country to maintain it until this crisis, the publick calamities which hover o'er us, must produce such a parliament; for the airy fabrick of publick credit, is already tottering,

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Whether the system of parliamentary supremacy arises from weakness or design; it surely must be admitted as a very sufficient reason for alarm, and if in the proceeding of parliament,

liament, injustice and oppression is apparent towards the most insignificant individual, it must give good cause for others to be watchful in their own concerns. Admit for a moment, that every proceeding of parliament towards America, has been, not *only equitable*, but *friendly*; if America saw parliament encroach upon the rights of any other, it behoved them to be jealous! nor can the fact be denied, that a new system of administration has been adopted, either from accident or design: and if we have any respect for our forefathers, or regard for our posterity, every man must wish to see that system re-established, by which this realm became so glorious abroad and so happy at home.

The plan of government adopted in the last reign, was *aristocratical*; throwing the patronage into the hands of the lord-lieutenants of counties: men who are governed only by names, may think the present a happy change, an *aristocracy* being held, by many, the most pernicious of all forms of govern-

government; but an *English aristocracy* is only a regulated republic under the tutelage of the *monarch*. The lord-lieutenants were appointed by the *crown*, and removeable at pleasure: their *influence* in the county depended in a very great degree on their *condescension* and *popularity*, and the crown would certainly no longer have continued a lord-lieutenant than whilst he preserved his authority and influence in the county. The affairs of the county being immediately under his inspection must be well understood, and there being so many counties, and consequently so many unconnected lord-lieutenants, the crown could have nothing to fear from them as from the barons of antient times, if it only attended to prevent the extension of influence by intermarriage of great families, or the claim of prescriptive right, which would easily be prevented by the office never descending for two generations in the same line.

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This system, it is much to be wished, for the sake of order, may be restored, and, as a further security to public liberty, that all officers of the excise and customs, in the several counties, should be *chosen* by the votes of the people: These officers being amenable to the respective boards of customs and excise, removable for misbehaviour, and to be promoted by these boards according to their deserts.

At present all distinction is thrown down, scarce any man has weight in a county but from the length of his purse, and an affluent brewer or distiller would now carry a county election against any family interest.

They who think the people are easiest governed when most corrupted, will not be convinced by history, or common sense, that no government ever did or ever can flourish, in vigour and tranquility, but by the encouragement of regularity and order, and
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by bestowing honours and public rewards on public services and private virtues.

4. But “we have passed the *Rubicon*.”— Let us consider the occasion and the meaning of this speech. Cæsar having taken arms against the government of his country, might well say, it was too late to retreat; as he must either prevail or fall a devoted victim to his treason! A minister in similar circumstances—who dreads that his head might be the expiatory sacrifice at the altar of union and peace, may cry, “we have passed the ‘Rubicon*.’” But has England passed the Rubicon? Has parliament ever been held

* I am very far from meaning to insinuate, that the great lawyer, who is said to have used this expression, is in any such predicament: however much I may differ in opinion concerning American affairs, I can by no means think that any part of his lordship’s conduct denotes him an *enemy to public liberty*, however much he may despise *pretended patriotism*. I have heard, that it was in consequence of *his* advice to his late majesty that this country is indebted for Mr. Pitt’s *administration*.

infallible? Is the power of *repealing* an indiscreet or imprudent act passed away from parliament? The opinions of this country have been divided concerning the measures pursued with respect to America, and there can be no indignity to the nation, if the men who have uniformly adhered to the same opinion, that America is to be kept by kindness but never to be won by violence, should be allowed to make the experiment so beneficial to this country, and so conducive to the great interests of humanity. It is true, a change of measures in the present ministers would only testify their want of steadiness, at the same time, that it is not likely America would trust their professions, and without confidence there can be no concord! It is alledged, the Americans have as little respect for *opposition!* perhaps in general they may be as *little respectable*; but what is the testimony brought to prove this disposition of America? That some of their fanatic preachers and flaming writers for independance have publickly declared these sentiments.

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I will admit the fact, but such fanatic preachers and flaming writers may declaim in vain if the rational and moderate part of the community are induced for the public weal to take the other side, although it is said the most perfect unanimity has subsisted in the American councils, in other matters, the *vote of independance* was carried only by a *majority of two*; and to say that a moderate and rational American would have no more confidence in a minister who has always declared, they *ought* to have had what *they first claimed*, than to a minister who has endeavoured to *dragoon* them into *his* opinion ! no more confidence in a minister who carried the glory of England to the highest point of exaltation ! whose comprehensive eye pervaded every quarter, and left no spot unprotected ! than to—can we call them—*ministers*, under whom the whole fabric is tottering ! would be to declare the Americans as devoid of *understanding*, as they were declared to be of *courage*, and I doubt not with as little ground for the supposition.

Providence, which has ever looked down with a benign aspect on this country, as the chosen seat of freedom, seems, for its wise purposes, to have bestowed health and vigour to a great statesman, to whom we were so much indebted in a former dilemma, and every lover of his country must be happy to see such a man at the helm in *this tempest.*

Instead of considering the doctrine of internal and external taxation as unintelligible jargon, I must think, like *prerogative*, *privilege*, and all the other *undescribeable* distinctions, which are, however, essential in supporting a well-poized government, that this is a happy emanation of his political genius, which pointed out to him a distinction whereby, without sacrificing that *dependence* of America on this country which time and opinion had established, the *expedient* mode of taxation was reconciled, with the *practicable*. It threw a veil over past misconduct, and involved the future in a cloud, much credit is therefore due to the system which he laid

laid down, and which would have conciliated America, waving the discussion of that dangerous question : " How far the authority " of this country extended over America ? "

I am not a servile adherent to any minister; I do not recollect that I ever even *saw* Lord Chatham, and very possibly never may ; I am far from thinking every measure of Lord Chatham's last administration *praiseworthy*, or even *blameless*; but there was a *vigour* in his former *administration*, to be looked for in vain in Fantocini ministers, moved by clerks in office; or by men whose attention is equally engaged in equipping a fleet for America, or setting on foot a *punting* expedition up the Thames: Men who conceive the little intrigue to secure the best places to their friends and favourites denotes a statesman. Mr. Pitt was never suspected of these narrow partialities, the man who appeared the most likely to execute with promptness and vigour the plans which the minister had formed, was the man of his choice;

choice ; and the complaint that *his* orders were always *indecisive* is the objection of some petty-fogger in office ; the officer who received the orders had by their stile a latitude for his *discretion*, and any officer who wished to be *tied down*, was *not* an officer to *execute* the plans of Mr. Pitt.

But, it is alledged, if Lord Chatham comes in to administration, we shall have an *immediate war* with France.

Does not the history of this nation, from the earliest times, shew a restlessness of disposition, which must be engaged in war ? and is not civil discord the natural consequence of peace with France ? Is not Old English against American English more destructive to *England*, than war with France ? Are we afraid of France now ? Will England, weakened by an American war, be better able to contest with France *bereafter* than at *present* ? or have the French ministers assured

assured our *wise ones*, that France will *never more molest* this country?

"We shall have an *immediate war with France!*" what does this mean? can it be conceived that Lord Chatham will find the settlement of all American affairs so very easy, that he will be induced, by way of having something to do, to enter into a war with France! or is it thought Lord Chatham would rouse the manly English spirit, and not permit France to play off her fooleries upon us, and to be assistant to the Americans, whilst she professes the most pacific disposition towards England.

But if Lord *Chatham* was *minister*! would France run the risk of a war? if their finances are in a state to bear it, can any man be so *infatuated* as to believe the French would let slip this opportunity of civil discord, to revenge the disgrace they suffered in the late war? unless their *present game* is *more ad-
vageous*

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tageous to them: in this case, immediate war with France is the *interest* of England:

If Lord Chatham was *minister*, it would be unnecessary to tell France, “that to receive the *Americans* into *their ports*, was an *act of hostility* against England. For if France is really pacifick to England, she must acknowledge the *Americans* to be *English subjects*, as such, incapable of trading in the ports of France, under any but English colours, and conformable to the restrictions of the mother country.”

If America refused the equitable propositions of Lord Chatham, it is very possible, that *his name*, without any thing more, might convince France, that they must give up their present schemes; for if the English spirit was again roused under Lord Chatham, I doubt not he would find it as easy to transport 50,000 English volunteers to the gates of Paris, as it will be found to convey 10,000 English manufacturers, and Scotch *men of family*,

family, to the bloody plains of America: I believe, there is hardly an *Englishman* who will not admit, that all Europe stands in *apprehension* of Lord Chatham's name; which would be a strong argument for placing him at the helm, were he even an *apostate whig*, from which charge, though countenanced by his late administration and his peerage, I hope his future conduct will exculpate him.

Before I presume to throw out my ideas of the *conditions* to be *proposed* to America, it will not be improper to consider briefly the circumstances of taxation, &c.

It is alledged, "England has an equitable claim on America, to bear a proportion of the general burthen;" more especially as so great a part of the expence of the late war was incurred in her behalf.

I will totally wave the question of *right*, which must ever be the ground of endless disputation in argument; I will confine myself

to the *expediency*; if by the act of navigation, America is restrained from trading with any other nation, this country, unquestionably, commands the markets of America. High duties on importation would have required the produce of America to be rated low, to have prevented the importation of like commodities from other countries, or from being grown in England; It is true, America was not bound to cultivate that particular commodity, and might have changed from rice to indigo, or from indigo to sugar; but a restrictive act could pass much sooner than a different commodity could be cultivated.

It is certainly reasonable that America should bear all her *own* immediate expences. It is likewise reasonable they should pay a *share* of the expences, of which they receive a *share* of the benefit, such as the *navy*, &c. But here a question will arise, what is this *share*; I do not mean to what amount; but if they are not on a perfect footing of equality in trade with the mother country, surely it cannot

cannot be thought *just*, that the *share* should be the *same* as if they had, in every respect, an equal freedom of trade, as the mother country. Here then arises a question, not easily to be resolved ; and perhaps this country would suffer more by the endeavouring to settle it, than if, without any *specific sum*, we rest satisfied with the general power of laying what taxes we please on their foreign trade. Considering also, that we are not bound to lay the same tax on each colony, but may give encouragement to one, or discouragement to another, so far as the general interest requires.

The great and distinguishing principle of the English constitution, seems clearly to be, that the mass of the people shall impose the taxes. Is it not sophistry to say “ $\frac{3}{4}$ neither are taxers, nor give their voice in the choice of taxers,” when every man who has property to the value of 40 shillings a year, *may* be a voter if he *pleased*, by laying out that property *in land*, and it would be incongruous to suppose men of *no property* ought

ought to have any right of voting: a man of sufficient property who does *not* qualify himself as a landholder, is surely to be considered in the same light, as the qualified person who does not give himself the trouble to attend an election to vote.

No tax can be imposed by parliament in this country, which is not to be born by the men who impose it; but the case is totally different in America, the tax imposed there by parliament, is not to affect the men who impose it, unless by throwing the load off themselves to another; they must be very ignorant of the human mind, who can think rigid justice is to be expected in any publick assembly, whose judgments are ever swayed by their interests. But besides this objection to the principle, great objection arises to the mode: twice the sum may be raised with less inconvenience in one way, than another; of which they only can be competent judges, who are to pay their proportion of the taxes: but if America is

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to be taxed in England, in all human probability, the mode of taxation will always be more grievous than the tax itself.

Suppose an act of parliament should pass this session, setting forth, That whereas the expence of living in London during the long duration of parliaments, was productive of very great disadvantage to the fortunes of the lords of parliament, and the members of the house of commons who attended their duty ; it was therefore enacted, that all peers and members of parliament, should be *exempted from paying any taxes whatever* ; the Americans would then indeed have no ground to complain, that they were not on the same footing with the English. But would the people of England tamely bear such an act ?

This country has, unquestionably, reaped many advantages from the colonies ; and, before the present contest, I believe it was admit-

admitted they had given frequent testimonies of their readiness to incur expence in the public service ; though perhaps never to *conquer* America in Germany ; and surely, when we see the liberal and voluntary subscriptions, at present, to support government, in that country whose *rebellious* arms made this *capital* tremble in the late reign, we may trust that America will not be wanting to give, of her own accord, her mite when the public exigence requires.

Some men, in a fit of desperation, are for declaring America *independent* ; but let us consider before we enter the gulph ! if America was independent, admit that France should, on some dispute with any colony of America, about matters of trade, determine to take possession of that colony. Would we quietly let them do this ? it will be said, that England has been unequal to the conquest of America, and therefore it cannot be thought France would be more successful ? but would France war with *united America* ?

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America? no! she would confine herself, at first, to a small part, from which her power would gradually extend itself.

If America is independent, what becomes of the trade to the East-Indies? confined at present to *London*; would not even your own merchants trade under American colours?

If America is independent, how can it be known she will always be friendly to this country; and if she should become hostile, what will be the fate of the West-India Islands?

I can see a thousand doubts arising from American independance; and I hope matters are not yet too far gone for an equitable and permanent reconciliation.

F H E A D S

H E A D S

FOR AN

ACCOMMODATION BILL.

WHEREAS a ruinous and destructive war has broke out in America, and whereas certain acts of parliament concerning the colonies, have been, by the said colonies, falsely supposed, intended to be injurious to their common rights: be it enacted, that the said acts (reciting all since the accession of his present majesty) be hereby repealed.

And to the end, that all hostilities may cease in America, and all fears and apprehensions be removed; the following heads of a settlement are hereby enacted.

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The American colonies shall for ever be excluded carrying on any trade or navigation, without the consent of parliament; except from port to port in the said colonies, or to and from Great Britain.

The several colonies shall be authorised in their respective assemblies, for the support of the civil government, and other publick purposes, to vote such internal taxes, to be raised by a general land tax, by a poll tax, or otherwise, as they shall from time to time think proper; provided always that no taxes shall be laid on the importation of goods from Great Britain, or on the exportation to Great Britain of goods, the produce of the said colonies; but the said colonies respectively shall be empowered to lay such duties, as shall seem to them meet, on the goods passing from one colony to another, either by sea or land.

Whenever any of the colonies shall make a requisition of ships, troops, or military stores, for their protection, such colony shall pay into his Majesty's exchequer the amount of the expence incurred by such requisition.

The governors and the councils of the said colonies shall be appointed by the King, and have respectively a negative on the resolutions of the houses of assembly.

All money bills shall originate in the house of assembly only, and neither the governor nor council shall have a power to propose an amendment in such bill.

The said assemblies shall meet annually on such day as the said governors shall think proper, provided always, that the day of meeting does not exceed one year from the day of meeting the former year, nor shall the governors be empowered to dissolve the said assemblies against their consent, without summoning a new assembly to meet within the space of two months, nor shall such new assembly be dissolved, without their consent, 'till the business then before the house is gone through.

And to the end that an equitable mode be for ever established of choosing the members to compose the said assemblies, it is hereby

hereby enacted, that the proper rules and regulations, as well as the due qualifications, shall be settled in America, to be approved by His Majesty in parliament assembled, and that until such plan is established, the present mode shall continue.

The said house of assemblies, with the concurrence of the governors and councils, may provide, at the public expence, for the protection of each respective colony, by training militia, providing warlike stores, &c.

And whenever His Majesty shall, in his wisdom, see fit to order any of his troops into either of the colonies, the governor of the said colony shall be authorised to billet such soldiers 'till the assembly, with the concurrence of the governor and of the council, can provide for them properly in barracks or otherwise.

And whereas great difficulties may arise in funding the paper currency, in the said colonies,

colonies, the said houses of assemblies are hereby authorised to fund the said paper currency, in such manner as may seem to them proper, even without the concurrence of the governor or of the councils, provided it be done by a general land tax, or otherwise, not being a tax on goods imported from Great Britain, or on the produce of the colonies exported to Great Britain; which paper currency shall be so funded within one year from the ratification of this convention.

And to the end that each respective colony may be empowered to establish this perpetual convention, the said colonies are hereby authorised respectively, either to form an assembly by election of the people and to send deputies from the said assemblies to a general congress, or to establish the said perpetual convention, by the vote of the assembly of such respective colony.

And to the end that the maternal affection of this country may be shewn to her colonies

colonies, the said colonies shall respectively reduce into one body the substance of all the acts of parliament concerning the colonies, and point out what alterations would tend to the benefit of such respective colony, and, in the mean while, such acts of parliament as are consistent with this convention shall remain in force.

Peace, fair virtue ! Peace is all thy own !

F I N I S.



1860. 1861. 1862. 1863.

